NORTH CAROLINA PORTFOLIO

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

ELIZABETH-CITY STAR....Extra.

Elizabeth-City, Saturday, December 13, 1823.

WASHINGTON, December 2.

This day, at 12 o'clock, the President of the United States transmitted to both Houses of Congress, by the hands of his private Secretary, the following

MESSAGE.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Many important subjects will claim your attention during the present session, of which I shall endeavor to give, in aid of your deliberations, a just idea in this communication.—I undertake this duty with diffidence, from the vast extent of the interests on which I have to treat, and of their great importance to every portion of our Union. I enter on it with zeal, from a thorough conviction that there never was a period, since the establishment of our revolution, when, regarding the condition of the civilized world, and its bearing on us, there was greater necessity for devotion in the public servants to their respective duties, or for virtue, patriotism, and union, in our constituents.

Meeting in you a new Congress, I deem it proper to present this view of public affairs in greater detail than might otherwise be necessary. I do it, however, with peculiar satisfaction, from a knowledge that, in this respect, I shall comply more fully with the sound principles of our government. The people being with us exclusively the sovereign, it is indispensable that full information be laid before them on all important subjects, to enable them to exercise that high power with complete effect. If kept in the dark, they, must be incompetent to it. We are all liable to error, and those, who are engaged in the management of public affairs, are more subject to excitement, and to be led astray by their particular interests and passions than the great body of our constituents, who living at home in pursuit of their ordinary avocations, are calm but deeply interested spectators of events, and of the conduct of those who are parties to them. To the people, every department of the government, and every individual in each, are responsible; and the more full their information, the better they can judge of the wisdom of the policy pursued, and of the conduct of each it regard to it.—From their dispassionate judgment, much aid may always be obtained, while their approbation will form the greatest incentive and most gratifying reward for virtuous actions, and the dread of their censure the best security against the abuse of their confidence. Their interests, in all vital questions, are the same; and the bond by sentiment, as well as by interest, will be proportionably strengthened as they are better informed of the real state of public affairs, especially in difficult conjunctures. It is by such knowledge that local prejudices and jealousies are surmounted, and that a national policy, extending its fostering care and protection to all the great interests of our union, is formed and steadily adhered to.

A precise knowledge of our relations with foreign powers, as respects our negotiations and transactions with each, is thought to be particularly necessary. Equally necessary is it, that we should form a just estimate of our resources, revenue, and progress in every kind of improvement connected with the national prosperity and public defence. It is by rendering justice to other nations, that we may expect it from them. It is by our ability to resent injuries, and redress wrongs, that we may avoid them.

The Commissioners under the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, having disagreed in their opinions respecting that portion of the boundary between the territories of the United States and Great Britain, the establishment of which had been submitted to them, have made their respective reports, in compliance with that article, that the same might be referred to the decision of a friendly power. It being manifest, however, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for any power to perform that office, without great delay and much inconvenience to itself, a proposal has been made by this government, and acceded to by that of Great Britain, to endeavor to establish that boundary by amicible negociation. It appearing, from long experience, that no satisfactory arrangement could be formed of the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British colonies in this hemisphere, by legislative acts, while each party pursued its own course, without agreement or concert with the other, a proposal has been made to the British government to regulate this commerce by Treaty, as it has been to arrange, in like manner, the just claim of the citizens of the United States, inhabiting the states and territories, bordering on the lakes and rivers which empty into the St. Lawrence, to the navigation of that river to the ocean. For these and other objects of high importance to the interests of both parties, a negotiation has been opened with the British government, which, it is hoped, will have a satisfactory result.

The Commissioners, under the sixth and seventh articles of the treaty of Ghent, having successfully closed their labours in relation to the sixth, have proceeded to the discharge of those relating to the seventh.—[illegible] in the extensive survey, required for the performance of their duties, justifies the presumption that it will be completed in the ensuing year.

The negotiation which had been long depending with the French government on several important subjects, and particularly for a just indemnity for losses sustained in the late wars by the citizens of the United States under unjustifiable seizures and confiscations of their property, has not, as yet, had the desired effect. As this claim rests on the same principle with others which have been admitted by the French government, it is not perceived on what just ground it can be rejected. A Minister will be immediately appointed to proceed to France, and resume the negotiation on this and other subjects, which may arise between the two nations.

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial government, made through the Minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the north west coast of this continent. A similar proposal had been made by his imperial Majesty to the government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The government of the United States has been desirous, by this friendly proceeding, of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor, and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper, for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

Since the close of the last session of Congress, the commissioners and arbitrators for ascertaining and determining the amount of indemnification which may be due to the citizens of the United States under the decision of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia, in conformity to the convention concluded at St. Petersburg, on the twelfth of July, one thousand eight hundred and twenty two, have assembled in this city, and organised themselves as a board for the performance of the duties assigned to them by that treaty.—The commission constituted under the eleventh article of the treaty of the twenty second of February, eighteen hundred and nineteen, between the United States and Spain is also in session here; and, as the term of three years limited by the treaty, for the execution of the trust, will expire before the period of the next regular meeting of Congress, the attention of the Legislature will be drawn to the measures which may be necessary to accomplish the objects for which the commission was instituted.

In compliance with a Resolution of the House of Representatives, adopted at their last session, instructions have been given to all the Ministers of the United States accredited to the powers of Europe and America, to propose the proscription of the African slave trade, by classing it under the denomination, and inflicting on its perpetrators the punishment of piracy. Should this proposal be acceded to, it is not doubted, that this odious and criminal practice will be promptly and entirely suppressed. It is earnestly hoped that it will be acceded to, from the firm belief that it is the most effectual expedient that can be adopted for the purpose.

At the commencement of the recent war between France and Spain, it was declared by the French government, that it would grant no commissions to privateers. and that neither the commerce of Spain herself, nor of neutral nations, should be molested by the naval force of France, except in the breach of a lawful blockade. This declaration, which appears faithfully to have been carried into effect, concurring with principles proclaimed and cherished by the United States, from the first establishment of the independence, suggested the hope that the time had arrived when the proposal adopting it as a permanent and invariable rule, in all future maratime wars, might meet the favorable consideration of the great European powers. Instructions have accordingly been given to our ministers with France, Russia, and Great Britain, to make those proposals to their respective governments; and, when the friends of humanity reflect on the essential amelioration to the condition of the human race which would result from the abolition of private war on the sea, and on the great facility by which it might be accomplished, requiring only the consent of a few sovereigns, an earnest hope is indulged that these overtures will meet with an attention animated by the spirit in which they were made, and that they will ultimately be successful.

The Ministers who were appointed to the Republics of Colombia and Buenos, Ayres, during the last session of Congress, proceeded shortly afterwards to their destinations. Of their arrival there, official intelligence has not yet been received. The Minister appointed to the Republic of Chili will sail in a few days. An early appointment will also be made to Mexico. A Minister has been received from Colombia, and the other governments have been informed that Ministers, or Diplomatic Agents of inferior grade would be received from each, according as they might prefer the one or the other.

The Minister appointed to Spain proceeded, soon after his appointment, for Cadiz, the residence of the Sovereign, to whom he was accredited. In approaching that port, the frigate which conveyed him was warned off by the commander of the French squadron, by which it was blockaded, and not permitted to enter, although apprized, by the captain of the frigate, of the public character of the person whom he had on board, the landing of whom was the sole object of his proposed entry. This act, being considered an infringement of the rights of ambassadors, and of nations, will form a just cause of complaint, to the government of France, against the officer by whom it was committed.

The actual condition of the public finances more than realizes the favorable anticipations that were entertained of it at the opening of the last session of Congress. On the first of January there was a balance in the Treasury of four million two hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and twenty-seven dollars and fifty-five cents. From that time to the 13th September, the receipts amounted to upwards of 16,100,000 dollars, and the expenditures to 11,400,000 dollars. During the fourth quarter of the year, it is estimated, that the receipts will, at least, equal the expenditures, and that there will remain in the Treasury on the 1st day of January next a surplus of nearly nine millions of dollars.

On the 1st of Jan. 1825, a large amount of the war debt, and a part of the revolutionary debt, become redeemable. Additional portions of the former will continue to become redeemable, annually, until the year 1835.—It is believed, however, that, if the United States remain at peace, the whole of that debt may be redeemed, by the ordinary revenue of those years during that period, under the provision of the act of March 3d, 1817, creating the sinking fund, and, in that case, the only part of the debt that will remain, after the year 1835, will be the seven millions of five per cent. stock subscribed to the Bank of the United States, and the three per cent. Revolutionary debt. amounting to 13,296,099 dollars 6 cents, both of which are redeemable at the pleasure of the government.

The state of the army in its organization and discipline, has been gradually improving for several years, and has now attained a high degree of perfection. The Military disbursements have been regularly made, and the accounts regularly and promptly rendered for settlement. The supplies, of various descriptions, have been of good quality, and regularly issued at all the posts. A system of œconomy and accountability has been introduced into every branch of the service, which admits of little additional improvement. This desirable state has been attained by the act recognizing the staff of the army, passed on the 14th April, 1818.

The moneys appropriated for fortifications have been regularly and economically applied, and all the works advanced as rapidly as the amount appropriated would admit. Three important works will be completed in the course of this year; that is, Fort Washington, Fort Delaware, and the Fort at the Rigolets, in Louisiana.

The Board of Engineers, and the Topographical Corps, have been in constant and active service, in surveying the Coast, and projecting the works necessary for its defence.

The Military Academy has attained a degree of perfection in its discipline and instruction, equal, as is believed, to any institution of its kind in any country.

The money appropriated for the use of the Ordnance Deparment, has been regularly and economically applied. The fabrication of arms at the national armories and by contract with the Department, has been gradually improving in quality and cheapness. It is believed that their quality is now such as to admit of but little improvement.

The completion of the Fortifications renders it necessary that there should be a suitable appropriation for the purpose of fabricating the cannon and carriages necessary for those works.

Under the appropriation of $5000 for exploring the western waters for the location of a scite for a Western Armory, a commission was instituted consisting of col. M'REE, col. LEE, and capt. TALCOTT, who have been engaged in exploring the country. They have not yet reported the result of their labors, but it is believed that they will prepare to do it, at an early part of the Session of Congress.

During the month of June last, Gen. Ashley and his party, who were trading under a license from the government, were attacked by the Ricarees while peaceably trading with the Indians, at their request. Several of the party were killed and wounded and their property taken or destroyed.

Colonel Leavenworth, who commanded Fort Atkinson, at the Council Bluffs, the most western post, apprehending that the hostile spirit of the Ricarees would extend to other tribes in that quarter, and that thereby the lives of the traders on the Missouri, and the peace of the frontier, would be endangered, took immediate measures to check the evil.

With a detachment of the regiment stationed at the Bluffs, he successfully attacked the Ricaree village, and it is hoped that such an impression has been made on them, as well as on the other tribes on the Missouri, as will prevent a recurrence of future hostility.

The report of the Secretary of War, which is herewith transmitted, will exhibit, in greater detail, the condition of the Department in its various branches, and the progress which has been made in its administration, during the three first quarters of the year.

I transmit a return of the militia of the several states, according to the last reports which have been made, by the proper officers in each, to the Deparment of War. By reference to this return it will be seen that it is not complete, although great exertions have been made to make it so. As the defence, and even the liberties of the country must depend, in times of imminent danger, on the militia, it is of the highest importance, that it be well organized, armed, and disciplined throughout the Union. The report of the Secretary of War shews the progress made during the three first quarters of the present year, by the application of the fund appropriated for arming the militia. Much difficulty is found in distributing the arms according to the act of Congress providing for it, from the failure of the states to make regular returns. The act of May the twelfth, one thousand eight hundred and twenty, provides that the system of tactics and regulations of the various corps of the regular army shall be extended to the militia. This act has been very imperfectly executed, from the want of uniformity in the organization of the militia, proceeding from the defects of the system itself, and especially in its application to that main arm of the public defence. It is thought that this important subject, in all its branches, merits the attention of Congress.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy, which is now communicated, furnishes an account of the administration of that Department, for the three first quarters of the present year, with the progress made in augmenting the Navy, and the manner in which the vessels in commission have been employed.

The usual force has been maintained in the Mediterranean Sea, the Pacific Ocean, and along the Atlantic Coast, and has afforded the necessary protection to our commerce in those seas.

In the West Indies and the Gulph of Mexico, our naval force has been augmented, by the addition of several small vessels, provided for by the "act authorising an additional naval force for the suppression of piracy," passed by Congress at their last session.—That armament has been eminently successful in the accomplishment of its object. The piracies, by which our commerce in the neighborhood of the Island of Cuba had been afflicted, have been repressed, and the confidence of our merchants in a great measure restored.

The patriotic zeal and enterprize of Commodore Porter, to whom the command of the expedition was confided, has been fully seconded by the officers and men under his command. And, in reflecting with high satisfaction, on the honorable manner in which they have sustained the reputation of their country and its navy, the sentiment is alloyed only by a concern, that, in the fulfilment of that arduous service, the diseases incident to the season, and to the climate in which it was discharged, have deprived the nation of many useful lives, and among them of several officers of great promise.

In the month of August a very malignant fever made its appearance at Thompson's Island, which threatened the destruction of our station there. Many perished; and the commanding officer was severely attacked. Uncertain as to his fate, and knowing that most of the medical officers had been rendered incapable of discharging their duties, it was thought expedient to send to that post an officer of rank and experience, with several skilful surgeons to ascertain the origin of the fever and the probability of its recurrence there in future seasons; to furnish every assistance to those who were suffering, and if practicable, to avoid the necessity of abandoning so important a station. Commodore Rodgers, with a promptitude which did him honor, cheerfully accepted that trust, and has discharged it in the manner anticipated from his skill and patriotism. Before his arrival, Commodore Porter, with the greater part of the squadron, had removed from the Island, and returned to the United States in consequence of the prevailing sickness. Much useful information has however been obtained as to the state of the Island, and great relief afforded to those who had been necessarily left there.

Although our expedition, co-operating with an invigorated administration of the government of the Island of Cuba, and with the corresponding active exertions of a British naval force in the same seas, have almost entirely destroyed the unlicensed piracies from that island, the success of our exertions has not been equally effectual to suppress the same crime, under other pretences and colors, in the neighboring island of Porto Rico. They

have been committed there under the abusive issue of Spanish commissions. At an early period of the present year remonstrances were made to the Governor of that island, by an agent who was sent for the purpose, against those outrages on the peaceful commerce of the U. States of which many had occurred. That officer, professing his own want of authority to make satisfaction for our just complaints, answered only by a reference of them, to the government of Spain. The minister of the United States to that court was specially instructed to urge the necessity of the immediate and effectual interposition of that government, directing restitution and idemnity for wrongs already committed, and interdicting the repetition of them. The minister, as has been seen, was debarred access to the Spanish government, and, in the mean time several new cases of flagrant outrage have occurred, and citizens of the U. States in the island of Porto Rico have suffered, and others have been threatened with, assasination for asserting their unquestionable rights, even before the lawful tribunals of the country.

The usual orders have been given to all our public ships, to seize American vessels engaged in the Slave trade, and bring them in for adjudication, and I have the gratification to state, that not one so employed has been discovered, and there is good reason to believe that our flag is now seldom, if at all, disgraced by that traffic.

It is a source of great satisfaction that we are always enabled to recur to the conduct of our Navy, with pride and commendation.—As a means of national defence, it enjoys the public confidence, and is steadily assuming additional importance. It is submitted whether a more efficient and equally œconomical organization of it, might not, in several respects, be effected. It is supposed that higher grades than now exist by law would be useful. They would afford well merited rewards to those who have long and faithfully served their country; present the best incentives to good conduct, and the best means of insuring a proper discipline; destroy the inequality in that respect between military and naval services, and relieve our officers from many inconveniences & mortifications, which occur when our vessels meet those of other nations—ours being the only service in which such grades do not exist.

A report of the Post Master General, which accompanies this communication, will shew the present state of the Post Office Department, and its general operations for some years past.

There is established, by law, 88,600 miles of post roads, on which the mail is now transported 85,700 miles, and contracts have been made for its transportation on all the established routes, with one or two exceptions.—There are 5,240 post offices in the Union, and as many post masters. The gross amount of postage which accrued from the 1st July, 1822, to the 1st July, 1823, was 1,114,345 dollars 12 cents. During the same period, the expenditures of the Post Office Department amounted to 1,169,885 dollars and 51 cents; and consisted of the following items: Compensation to Postmasters, 353,995 dollars and 98 cents, incidental expenses, 30,866 dollars and 37 cents, transportation of the mail, 784,600 dollars and 8 cents; payments into the Treasury, 423 dollars and 8 cents.—On the first of July last, there was due to the Department, from Postmasters 135,245 dols. and 28 cents; from late postmasters and contractors, 256,749 dollars and 31 cents: making a total amount of balance due to the Department, of 391,994 dollars and 59 cents; these balances embrace all delinquencies of postmasters and contractors, which have taken place since the organization of the Department. There was due by the Department, to contractors, on the first of July last, 26,548 dollars and 64 cents.

The transportation of the mail within five years past has been greatly extended, and the expenditures of the Department proportionably increased. Although the postage which has accrued within the last three years, has fallen short of the expenditures 262,821 dollars and 46 cents, it appears that collections have been made from the outstanding balances to meet the principal part of the current demands.

It is estimated that not more than 250,000 dollars of the above balances can be collected, and that a considerable part of this sum can only be realized by a resort to legal process. Some improvement in the receipts for postage is expected. A prompt attention to the collection of moneys received by postmasters, it is believed will enable the Department to continue its operations without aid from the Treasury, unless the expenditure shall be increased by the establishment of new mail routes.

A revision of some parts of the post-office, law may be necessary; and it is submitted, whether it would not be proper to provide for the appointment of post-masters, where the compensation exceeds a certain amount, by nomination to the Senate, as other officers of the general government are appointed.

Having communicated my views to Congress, at the commencement of the last session, respecting the encouragement which ought to be given to our manufactures, and the principle on which it should be founded, I have only to add that those views remain unchanged, and that the present state of those countries, with which we have the most immediate political relations and greatest commercial intercourse, tends to confirm them. Under this impression, I recommend a review of the tariff for the purpose of affording such additional protection to those articles which we are prepared to manufacture, or which are more immediately connected with the defence and independence of the country.

The actual state of the public accounts furnishes additional evidence of the efficiency of the present system of accountability, in relation to the public expenditure. Of the moneys drawn from the Treasury since the fourth of March eighteen hundred and seventeen, the sum remaining unaccounted for on the thirtieth of Sept. last, is more than a million and a half of dollars less than on the thirtieth of Sept. preceding; and, during the same period, a reduction of nearly a million of dollars has been made in the amount of the unsettled accounts for moneys advanced previously to the fourth of March, eighteen hundred and seventeen. It will be obvious that, in proportion as the mass of accounts of the latter description is diminished, by settlement, the difficulty of settling the residue is increased, from the consideration that, in many instances, it can be obtained only by legal process. For more precise details on this subject, I refer to a report from the first Comptroller of the Treasury.

The sum which was appropriated at the last session, for the repairs of the Cumberland road, has been applied with good effect to that object. A final report has not yet been received from the agent who was appointed to superintend it. As soon as it is received, it shall be communicated to Congress.

Many patriotic and enlightened citizens, who have made the subject an object of particular investigation, have suggested an improvement of still greater importance. They are of opinion that the waters of the Chesapeake and Ohio may be connected together by one continued canal, and at an expense far short of the value and importance of the object to be obtained. If this could be accomplished, it is impossible to calculate the beneficial consequences which would result from it. A great portion of the produce of the very fertile country through which it would pass, would find a market through that channel. Troops might be moved with great facility in war, with cannon and every kind of munition, and in either direction. Connecting the Atlantic with the western country, in a line passing through the seat of the national government, it would contribute essentially to strengthen the bond of Union itself. Believing as I do, that Congress possess the right to appropriate money for such a national object, (the jurisdiction remaining to the states through which the canal would pass,) I submit it to your consideration whether it may not be advisable to authorize, by an adequate appropriation, the employment of a suitable number of the officers of the corps of engineers, to examine the unexplored ground, during the next sesson, and to report their opinion thereon. It will likewise be proper to extend their examination to the several routes through which the water of the Ohio may be connected, by canals, with those of Lake Erie.

As the Cumberland road will require annual repairs, and Congress have not tho't it expedient to recommend to the states an amendment to the constitution, for the purpose of vesting in the United States a power to adopt and execute a system of internal improvement, it is also submitted to your consideration, whether it may not be expedient to authorize the Executive to enter into an arrangement with the several states through which the road passes, to establish tolls, each within its limits, for the purpose of defraying the expense of future repairs, and of providing, also, by suitable penalties, for its protection against future injuries.

The act of Congress of the seventh of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, appropriated the sum of twenty-two thousand seven hundred dollars for the purpose of erecting two piers as a shelter for vessels from ice, near Cape Henlopen, Delaware Bay. To effect the object of the act, the officers of the Board of Engineers, with Commodore Bainbridge, were directed to prepare plans and estimates of piers sufficient to answer the purpose intended by the act. It appears by their report, which accompanies the documents from the War Department, that the appropriation is not adequate to the purpose intended; and as the piers would be of great service, both to the navigation of the Delaware Bay, and the protection of vessels on the adjacent parts of the coast, I submit for the consideration of Congress whether additional and sufficient appropriations should not be made.

The Board of Engineers were also directed to examine and survey the entrance of the harbor of the port of Presqu'ile in Pennsylvania, in order to make an estimate of the expense of removing the obstructions to the entrace, with a plan of the best mode of effecting the same, under the appropriation for that purpose, by an act of Congress passed third of March last. The report of the Board accompanies the papers from the War Department, and is submitted for the consideration of Congress.

A strong hope has been long entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks, that they would succeed in their contest, and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth.—It is believed that the whole civilized world takes a deep interest in their welfare. Although no power has declared in their favor, yet none, according to our information, has taken part against them. Their cause and their name have protected them from dangers, which might ere this have overwhelmed any other people. The ordinary calculations of interest, and of acquisition, with a view to aggrandizement, which mingle so much in the transactions of nations, seem to have had no effect in regard to them. From the facts which have come to our knowledge, there is good cause to believe that their enemy has lost forever all dominion over them, that Greece will become again an independent nation. That she may obtain that rank is the object of our most ardent wishes.

It was stated at the commencement of the last session, that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal, to improve the condition of the people of those countries; and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked, that the result has been, so far, very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly, in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries, or make preparation for our defence. With the movements in this hemisphere, we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers.—The political system of the allied powers is essentially different, in this respect, from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of our most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted.—We owe it therefore to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare, that we should consider any attempt, on their part, to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety.—With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere.—But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it and whose independence, we have on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we should not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. In the war between those new governments and Spain, we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur, which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal shew that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact, no stronger proof can be adduced, than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principles satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed, by force, in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers, whose governments differ from theirs, are interested; even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power; submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to these continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system, to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our southern brethern, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.

If we compare the present condition of our Union, with its actual state at the close of our revolution, the history of the world furnishes no example of a progress in improvement, in all the important circumstances which constitute the happiness of a nation, which bears any resemblance to it. At the first epoch our population did not exceed three millions. By the last census it amounted to about ten millions, and, what is more extraordinary, it is almost altogether native, for emigration from other countries has been inconsiderable. At the first epoch, half the territory within our acknowledged limits was uninhabited and a wilderness. Since then, new territory has been acquired, of vast extent, comprising within it many rivers, particularly the Mississippi, the navigation of which to the ocean was of the highest importance to the original states. Over this territory our population has expanded in every direction, and new States have been established, almost equal, in number, to those which formed the first bond of our Union. This expansion of our population, and accession of new States to our Union, have had the happiest effect on all its highest interests. That it has eminently augmented our resources and added to our strength and respectability, as a power, is admitted by all. But, it is not in these important circumstances only, that this happy effect is felt. It is manifest that, by enlarging the basis of our system, and increasing the number of states, the system itself has been greatly strengthened in both its branches. Consolidation and disunion have thereby been rendered equally impracticable. Each government confiding in its own strength, has less to apprehend from the other; and in consequence each enjoying a greater freedom of action, is rendered more efficient for all the purposes for which it was instituted. It is unnecessary to treat, here, of the vast improvement made in the system itself, by the adoption of this constitution, and of its happy effect in elevating the character, and in protecting the rights of the nation, as well as individuals. To what then do we owe these blessings? It is known to all, that we derive them from the excellence of our institutions. Ought we not then to adopt every measure, which may be necessary to perpetuate them?

JAMES MONROE.

WASHINGTON, *December 2*, 1823.

NOTICE.

THE COPARTNERSHIP heretofore existing under the firm of *B & D. Tisdale*, is, by mutual consent, this day dissolved. All persons indebted to said firm, are requested to make payment to either of the subscribers.

Barney Tisdale,
Daniel Tisdale.

Sept. 20, *N. 22—tf*

Notice.

ALL Persons indebted to the Subscriber are requested to make payment on or before the 1st of January, or their accounts will be put in the hands of an officer for collection.

JOHN McMORINE.

Elizabeth-City, Nov. 22, 1823. [*tf.*]

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